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To complement an urban geographical study of Thiès (1),

1. "La ville de Thiès /The City of Thiès/," to appear soon in Études Sénégalaises.

a city located about 60 kilometers as the crow flies from Dakar, we have made an investigation in the villages of its suburbs.

[175
496] The sole object of this investigation was to learn to what extent the presence of a city founded entirely by Europeans as early as 1885 (date of the running of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad) may have effects on the neighboring rural groupings.

Consequently, this study will deal only with the relations that may exist between the city and the neighboring villages; agricultural problems will be dealt with only to the extent that they help to clarify certain aspects of the question.

[563] Seven villages were chosen. These agglomerations contain populations that belong to the principal ethnic groups of the region: Sérère-none /Serer/ at Tiali, Thiès-none, and Sapko; Wolof at Diakhaté and Keur-Mamour; Bambara and Wassoulonké at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara (see the sketch below). All of these localities are located within a radius of less than ten kilometers around the city.

The presence of a city in a given region may have disturbed rural life in very different ways, depending on the distance from the village to the city and depending on its ethnic composition.

It may have acted on the choice of the site for the village, on its arrangement, on the creation of new rural groupings.

It may have caused modifications in the type of the traditional settlement, in its interior comforts, in its modes and methods of cultivation.

/372/ Finally, and above all, it may have led to more or less profound perturbations in the social and economic organization of the village.

Before developing these three points it seems necessary to

S /372 cont./
121 delineate in broad strokes the natural milieu in which these
369 rural agglomerations were established. /Fig. 1 appears here./

As could be assumed, the environment of each of them differs according to the ethnic group that occupies it.

S The None /Serer/ village is generally divided into sever-
SR al hamlets of varying importance, but definitely separated
361 from one another. They conceal themselves from sight under dense foliage in the heart of an arbored countryside. In the rainy season it is possible to pass near one of them without sus-
SR [412] pecting its existence. Only the noise of the pestle in the millet mortars reveals its presence to us.

SR The fields extend around in a wooded landscape. The
[137] palmyra, with the shape of the leaves reminding one of an
[273] enormous /373/ fan, predominates over the other species. The harvesting of palm wine practiced by the Sérère-none seems to be the primary reason for their impressive number. The "kad" (1)

1. "kad" in Wolof = Faidherbia albida (A. Chev.).

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[137] is rarer than in Sine-Saloum; the baobab (with its trunk stripped
[283] for the making of cord) is preserved solely in the village itself.
[241] On the immediate outskirts, the millet fields are numerous; those of the groundnut seem to be less extensive. No plot of ground, except for some ferruginous crusts, seems to have been spared from cultivation.

S The framework of the Wolof village is entirely different.
361 The surrounding countryside is bare. A few rare trees put their
W dark blots on this monotonous countryside. The agglomeration
[361] is easily marked by the darker foliage that surrounds it.

The Bambara villages are sometimes located in a wooded countryside, like Keur-Issa-Bambara, and sometimes in a denuded landscape, like Karamoko. It would seem that this group has patterned its method of cultivation on that practiced in the neighborhood.

Keur-Issa-Bambara reminds one of the None village, not

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30

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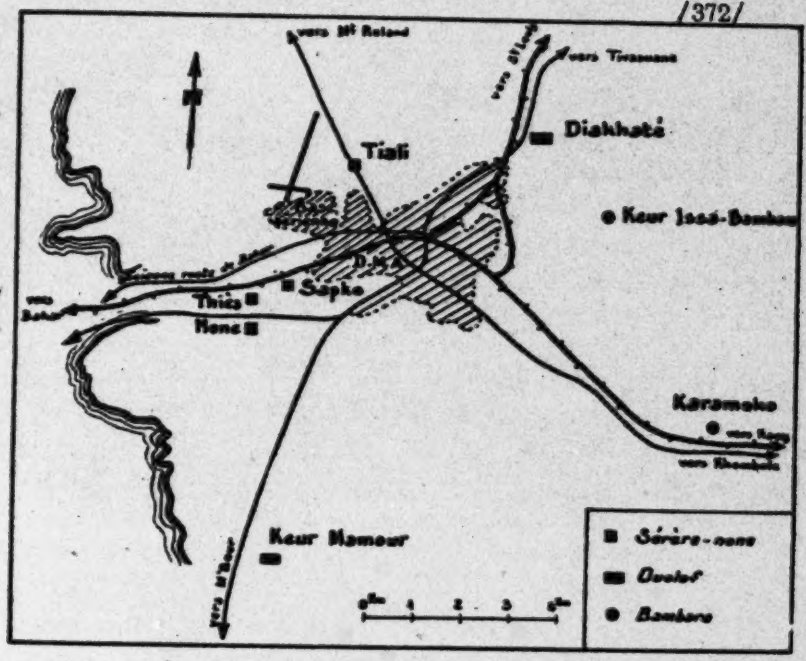

Fig. 1. Thiès, location of the villages mentioned in this study.

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361 /373 cont./ by its internal plan (it is dispersed in a loose arrangement), but by the arbored countryside that surrounds it.

Karamoko, on the other hand, resembles a Wolof village: few or no trees except around the huts, a monotonous and open countryside.

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369 The founding and the rapid growth of Thiès seems to have entailed perturbations in the life of the neighboring villages, especially at the end of the last century.

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Before the arrival of the French garrison in 1865, the Sérère-none ruled supreme over the region. He was established as the traditional enemy of the Wolof, and from time to time he suffered from the incursions of his "tiédos" (2).

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[624]

2. Tiédos: name given to the Wolof war chiefs of Cayor.

After the definitive installation of our troops at Thiès and especially after the running of the Dakar-Saint-Louis railroad in 1885, many Wolof came to settle near our fortified post; at the same time they benefited from our pacificatory presence by being able to create farm villages in the heart of None country. Diakhaté was established about 1875-1880 (some of its founders worked on the construction of the railroad line in 1884); Keur-Mamour was created at about the same time.

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[464]

The Bambara villages are more recent: 1890-1895. These were the /374/ terrible years when Samory sacked the southern Sudan and the region of the Wassoulou (east of Beyla in Upper Guinea). Through the authorities, it seems, some of the Bambara and Wassoulonké freed by our troops were sent to Senegal where the policy of groundnut cultivation was in full development. Keur-Issa-Bambara and Karamoko were founded at this time.

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The city of Thiès was not very important at that time; it had hardly more than a thousand inhabitants. Nevertheless, it began to play a primary role; its presence imposed peace in the region formerly so disturbed by the None brigandage or the incursions of Wolof warriors. Its presence facilitated the founding of villages, the number of which would cease to grow in the subsequent period; all of the land capable of supporting crops was utilized at the beginning of the century.

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In the years preceding the Great War, the escale (1)

1. Escale: by extension signifies a stopping place, a commercial agglomeration.

/374 cont./

369 [438] became a relatively flourishing commercial center; each year more than 20,000 metric tons of groundnuts were handled by the traders of the place and sent by railroad to the ports of Rufisque or Dakar. As early as 1907 the first work on the Thiès- [496] Kayes railroad was begun. All of this new economic activity [464] required the employment of many laborers, who were in part recruited on the spot, but also in the neighboring villages.

369 162 During the dry season, work in the fields is reduced. A number of rural people in the vicinity come to offer their services as workers in the factoreries (2) or in the newly opened [464]

[443] 2. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold.

[461] yards /chantiers, dockyards, woodyards, etc./. Some of these villagers feel that this kind of work is less arduous and more remunerative than that of agriculture. They become definitively attached to urban life and come to swell the population of the native quarters previously established.

[484] [22] Others return every evening to the village. During the rainy season they leave their urban job and devote all their activity to work in the fields.

During this whole period prior to the Great War the suburban village seems to have played the role of intermediary or rather of relay-station between the hamlet in the bush and the city. The call for non-specialized labor had echos not [464] only in the outskirts /375/ of the city itself, but also in the more distant villages. Curiosity about new things, the opportunity to escape familial tutelage, and especially the promise of relatively high earnings stimulated some immigration movement toward the escales.

[574] By means of the great hospitality that he knows will be shown him by relatives or friends who live in Diakhaté or Keur-Issa-Bambara, the rural person settles in these agglomerations.

/375 cont./

369 He works the lougan (1) of his host; after a few months he
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1. Lougan; a Wolof term signifying a cultivated field.

obtains a little grant of land from the head of the village; he builds a hut, and often his family joins him and comes to share his life. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara grow. The new settler takes advantage of the inactivity that the dry season imposes on him by offering his services temporarily to the urban establishments. Each year he divides his activities, which become half-urban, half-rural. If stable employment is offered to him in the city, he leaves the care of his lougan to his family and devotes himself entirely to his new activity. For a few months he will accept this daily [484] travel, but he has no deep attachment in the village that welcomed him earlier; tired of his long daily journeys, perhaps also pushed by a kind of pride in becoming a city dweller, he will finally, he and his family, leave the rural life and settle in the huts of the native quarters of Thiés.

369 Perhaps he retained a little lougan in the village?
241 His family will come to maintain it each year.. Perhaps he exchanged it for a field located in the vicinity of his new establishment? In general, because of a kind of peasant atavism, he always keeps a little bit of ground near his quarter. The harvest will give some protection against possi- [454] ble shortages; the sale of the products of the soil will be a considerable balance when enforced idleness or lack of money occurs.

369 The period of the maximum development of Keur-
621 Issa-Bambara is set by the old people in the decade 1910-1920. This swelling of the population often required splitting the village in two. For reasons of familial misunderstandings or the necessity of being nearer to fields too far away, this disassociation was brought about in several hamlets (at

/375 cont./

369 Diakhaté, for example).

621 Sometimes the discord between religious heads be-
[798] longing to different sects provoked the separation in fact of the two opposite camps (Keur-Mamour).

Up to here the presence of the city acted only indirectly in stimulating /376/ the swelling or the splitting up of the village and the temporary or definitive emigration of some elements. It may also have more direct effects on the agglomerations.

369 During the last three decades, through the establish-
[798] ment of the great repair workshops /ateliers de réparation/ of the Dakar-Niger, Thiès has been in the process of becoming
[712] an industrial city; in a parallel way the military bases are becoming larger at the expense of the neighboring rural territories.

369 Even before this last war, the None village of Tiali,
423 located one kilometer from the city, was the first to be de-
[712] prived of about a third of its land by the establishment of the camp of military aviation. In 1947 plans to extend this same base brought about the complete evacuation of Thiès-none which was established south of the railroad, in the vicinity of Sapko. Almost all of these fields were relinquished to the military authorities. Finally, in 1953, execution of the plan for the urbanization of the city obliged the inhabitants of Wango to rebuild their huts in the quarter of Greater Thiès. Part of these lands have been relinquished to the municipality.

369 The land shrinks, the population grows; in order to subsist, a part of the rural population is obliged to go to work in the city.

[361] But before studying this question of the changing of the rural worker into an urban worker, we shall see whether the presence of the city has an influence on the plan of the village and especially on the settlement pattern.

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30
Bambara FA8

S 369 361 SR [361] W [361] [351]

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The appearance of the village itself varies according to the ethnic groups. Among the None, it is tightly grouped around a little central plaza, in the middle of which grows a majestic baobab. The Wolof disperses his compounds of huts, each delimited by a tapade (1) made of plaited millet-stalks.

1. Tapade: a kind of walling made of straw, bamboo, branches, which separates the space between two familial compounds.

This dispersion is also found at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara.

Apparently the city seems not to have had an influence on the arrangement proper of the village. It has very nearly preserved its old plan.

S 342 SR [342] [343]

Even today the traditional mode of construction of the hut appears different according to the ethnic group. The None erect strong mud dwellings on a square base with a floor of stamped earth; the whole is covered by a roof of thatch. The kitchen, on the other hand, is made of some posts fastened to the ground itself and supporting a roof of palmyra leaves.

W [342]

/377/ The Wolof prefers straw or plaited millet stalks as material. The house rests merely on the sandy ground, without any floor of stamped earth. The Bambara willingly lives in a hut of straw, but he is careful to fill in the interstices with mud. The floor is of stamped earth; a wide pent roof generally protects the entrance. Sometimes two huts are connected by a kind of veranda where he spends the evening; mud is frequently utilized in this group. /Fig. 2 appears here./

B [342]

S SR 342 369

The proximity of the city has to a certain extent improved the traditional modes of construction. The plan and the material used have been improved.

The hut with a single room and a square base has been replaced by a cottage with a rectangular base and often containing two rooms with the narrow window closed by a solid shutter.

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30

/377 cont./

S SR 342 369 Although the walls are still constructed of mud, they have been strengthened by a plastering of cement which prevents their rapid "dissolution" under the action of the rain. In general the thatched roof has been replaced by a covering of corrugated metal. What the dwelling gains in strength, it loses in comfort: the absence of the ceiling, the thinness

S SR [361]

Fig. 2. Thiès-none, a village little urbanized, with mud huts and thatched roofs.

/378/ of the metal, and the lack of ventilation give the interior of the rooms a suffocating atmosphere in the warm season and a cold one in winter.

These improvements may have numerous variations: hut with square base, plastered with cement, with a thatched roof; hut made entirely from retrieved planks. /Fig. 3 appears here./

These modernized dwellings are numerous, particularly in the None villages; 22 out of 204 (including kitchens) are made of mud with cement plastering and roofing other than thatch. They are rarer in the Bambara agglomerations. /379/ absent at Keur-Mamour

W [342]

[text continues on p. 11]

3: Savonnet--10 E-5 (no date) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Serer FA32

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Fig. 3. Tiali, entrance of the village: in the foreground, the harvest of millet in stacks; in the background, some permanent houses with a corrugated-metal roof.

S SR /379 cont./

369 and at Diakhaté where the hut of straw or purely of mud
[342] prevails. Could it be that the occupation of mason to which
W some None seem to devote themselves is a factor in this
[342] modernization of their settlements?

SR A certain "coquetry" absent in the bush villages leads
[463] some autochthones to lay out a little flower garden near their
S [351] hut (Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara)..

S The presence of the city is also reflected in the equip-
369 ment used by the rural people. The furniture is always sum-
352 mary, but more and more the iron bed is replacing the lat-
[513] tice of wood or the mat put on the ground itself. A mattress,
a military blanket, and commonly a mosquito net of a very
light fabric complete this relative comfort. Often a little
table of unpainted wood, a chair made of old boxes, a bit
S [353] of mirror hung on the wall, and sometimes an impressive
number of photographs, or, lacking them, pages cut out of
an illustrated magazine pasted to the walls, give a special
stamp to this interior, which is no longer typically rural.
Sometimes one even has the surprise of encountering in
these modest interiors a wardrobe and a little buffet, which
adorn, the more since they are not utilized, the room of a
privileged native. But this comfort is an exception.

S The calabash, which is the very foundation of the
369 kitchen utensils, is still commonly utilized for household
415 tasks and for the common meals. Nevertheless the cast-iron
or aluminum saucepan is no longer a luxury; the glass and
above all the bottle are in common use.

S The clothing, too, has been modified. The loincloth
369 in bright colors, laboriously woven by the Toucouleur
291 /Tukolor/ weaver, durable but expensive, has become a
177 luxury. Imported printed cloth of moderate price has sup-
planted it everywhere. The white robe with embroidery has
S [292] become the festive garment par excellence; the shorts, the
trousers, and the jacket, often furnished by the European,
are now the clothes utilized for work.

/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential S [271] [273] drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-SR [273] Islamized None.

The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the S 369 241 438 escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the S [372] collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is S SR 369 438 offered to the clientele of the escale.

During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of [314] thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; [342] after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city [231] for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

S SR 369 234 438 Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a S SR F single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it [239] [465] to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

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to the shepherd as compensation for services rendered. Although lactation is very poor (one to two liters per day per head), this sale practiced in the city at a relatively high price (30 francs per liter) is a source of not inconsiderable profit.

The Sérère, despite the poor food resources he commands, practices for the benefit of Europeans the raising of pigs in the narrow and miry enclosures formed by stakes driven deeply into the ground and close together.

The mode of settlement and the economy of these suburban villages, although they have not had profound modifications, nevertheless are in the process of continual reorganization and adaptation.

These very modest contributions of the urban economy thin out very rapidly as one goes farther from the city. Karamoko and Keur-Mamour, located six and seven kilometers from the escale, and even Diakhaté, which is nearer, give the appearance of wholly rural villages. The women who each morning leave in Indian file /381/ to sell their products in the city make up the single element that enters into the circuit of the new economy offered to them.

Has the social and economic organization, on the other hand, been more profoundly modified? An examination of the ethnic and functional composition of the groups of the villages will permit an understanding of the data on this problem.

For this study we have grouped the villages under three rubrics:

1. The assemblage of Tiali, Thiès-None, and Sapko; near the escale, but having undergone perturbations in their economy by the loss of part of their land.

2. Keur-Mamour and Karamoko form the group farthest from the city.

3. Diakhaté and Keur-Issa-Bambara are the two villages near the escale which have not suffered any loss of territory.

The first assemblage musters a total population of 405

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/381 cont./ inhabitants. These three villages are located less than two kilometers from the first urban quarters, consequently a favorable location for the daily departure of workers for the escale.

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The ethnic composition of these agglomerations, despite the urban proximity (favorable for the mixing of peoples), has remained homogeneous. At Sapko there is no foreign element; at Tiali two Wolof and one Sérère-Sine were working there temporarily at the time of the time of the inquiry; by contrast, nearly a tenth of the population of Thiès-None is made up of individuals belonging to non-Sérère ethnic groups (Wolof, Toucouleur, Peul). A parallel must be drawn between this

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quite relative heterogeneity and the almost total Islamization of the locality. Nearly four-fifths of the population of Thiès-None has embraced this religion; Sapko and Tiali, by contrast, remain essentially Catholic or fetishistic, the Moslems living there generally being transient elements.

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A kind of self-defense by the Catholic group that lives in a region largely Islamized seems to be one of the primary reasons for this ethnic integrity. Under the influence of the fathers, who possess, it seems, a profound authority over every Christian agglomeration, marriages occur from None village to None village and between Catholics (1).

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1. The woman seems to be the element through which the transition from the Catholic religion to the Moslem religion occurs. The young Christian who marries a Moslem no longer practices and quickly abjures her first religion; her children and the whole line will become Islamized under the paternal influence.

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/382/ An examination of the male and economically active population of these three agglomerations gives the result that 38% of its elements have remained essentially

S /382 cont./
SR agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide
162 their activity between the city and the country, depending
369 on the season and the labor market.

S Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought
SR about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None
241 is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his iler (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet

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[412]

1. Hilaire or iler: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

S or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in
SR the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will
241 hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish
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2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S An examination of the occupation of temporary or
SR permanent workers shows an important number of laborers,
162 19, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys
463 /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the
SR number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest:
162 only 33 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred
191 go to the nearby French school. These results may appear
[871] deceptive if one considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

/382 cont./

S 162 An examination of the suburban villages farthest from Thiès will give even lower figures.

S 162 563 Karamoko, located seven kilometers from the city, musters 106 inhabitants. Its ethnic composition is clearly different from that of the above None villages. Very great heterogeneity prevails there; it is made up of 30% Bambara, 30% Wassoulonké, and 25% Peul-Toucouleur. The Bambara and Wassoulonké form the ethnic base of the village, of which they were the creators. The other elements through the play of marriages have superimposed themselves on these groups.

W [563] /383/ Keur-Mamour, by contrast, has remained Wolof; only a few Peul shepherds have infiltrated into the village.

S 162 369 463 The distance from the urban center has considerably reduced the relations with Thiès. They have both remained rural: less than 10% of the economically active male population have non-agricultural work; more than 60% have remained wholly faithful to the land.

S W 369 463 317 At Keur-Mamour, although some elements were formerly employed in the escale itself, at the time of the inquiry only one-tenth were employed as laborers at the Péchiney phosphate quarries located in the vicinity of their village. (We have here an indirect effect of the urban presence: the opening of extra-urban yards offering extra-rural work to the neighboring villages.) As a consequence no worker was employed in the city itself.

S 369 Karamoko and Keur-Mamour thus present limited characteristics of the urban suburbs.

Keur-Issa-Bambara and Diakhaté, located in the vicinity of the escale (about one kilometer from the first outskirts), would have to form the type proper of the suburb.

S 369 563 162 W [563] The ethnic composition is essentially Wolof at Diakhaté, composite at Keur-Issa-Bambara. In this latter agglomeration the Bambara, the Peul, and the Toucouleur respectively account for 30% in the composition of the group. The remainder is made up of Wassoulonké, Wolof, Malinké, and Sarakolé. Consequently the heterogeneity seems to be greater there than

/383 cont./

369 563 162 at Karamoko. This leads to the supposition that there is great instability on the part of the families who, coming from the Sudan, for example, momentarily settle in the village before being integrated into the urban population of Thiès.

An examination of the table below[1] will permit a comparison of the structure of the four non-None villages (the None villages are homogeneous, as we have seen above).

/384/ In the predominately rural villages, the number 369 563 162 166 of individuals born in the village almost balances the number of those born outside: Karamoko, 34 as against 35; Keur-Mamour, 28 as against 22. It should be emphasized that at Keur-Mamour most of the men were born in the village itself, 21 as against 3, but by contrast most of the women are of outside origin, 19 as against 7. At Karamoko, on the other hand, an equal number of men and women leave their village of birth to settle elsewhere.

In the predominately urban agglomerations, the individuals who come from the outside are clearly in the majority. At Diakhaté, 31 are natives of the village as against 48 from the outside. At Keur-Issa-Bambara, only 23 are natives of the village as against 51 from the outside. Let us note that the number of men and the number of women born outside of the village are nearly identical: 22 men as against 29 women at Keur-Issa-Bambara, 23 as against 25 at Diakhaté.

These comparative figures emphasize a greater ethnic mixture in the villages whose economy is marked by the presence of the city.

The villages of Sudanese origin in particular require complementary data concerning the place of origin of the emigration. 563 162 166 To what extent do these villages maintain relations with their country of origin? Does the emigration movement toward Senegal, primed at the end of the last century, continue with as much strength in our day?

An examination of the place of birth of individuals belonging to the over-40 age group (early emigration) and the individuals not having reached this age (recent emigration) will illuminate

[1] [see cat 116, p 18 - ANALYST]

S W 162 166

/383/

Persons Over 15 Years of Age	Karamoko = 106 persons (Bambara)			K. I. Bambara = 116 persons (Bambara)			K. Mamour = 86 persons (Wolof)			Diakhaté = 121 persons (Wolof)		
	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total
Born in the village	15	19	34	18	5	23	21	7	28	18	13	31
Born outside of the village	16	19	35	22	29	51	3	19	22	23	25	48

3: Savonnet--18 E-5 (no date) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

3: Savonnet--19 E-5 (no date) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

/384 cont./

S 563 162 166 this problem.

At Keur-Issa-Bambara, out of 37 individuals born in the Sudan, 20 are over 40 years of age. At Karamoko, 28 are natives of the Sudan, but 18 have reached 40 years of age. Out of 65 individuals of Sudanese origin, only 27 are young elements. Over half of those classed under the rubric "emigrant" were aged persons, some of whom perhaps assisted in the creation of the village in Senegal.

These few figures are an index of the mediocrity of the present immigration of the Sudanese to the region of Thiès. The unions and the displacements of families or of familial elements seem to occur now between relatively close villages.

S 162 463 369 An examination of the division of activities at Diakhaté and at Keur-Issa-Bambara will permit to some extent "gauging" their index of urbanization.

W [162] [463] [369] At Diakhaté, 20% of the economically active male population work /385/ at Thiès, 60% have remained agriculturalists, and the remainder, 20%, is composed of workers of mixed activities, half-rural, half-urban. Keur-Issa-Bambara shows only a very low percentage of workers in mixed activities: 60% are rural; more than 30% work in the city (one sees that this latter figure is slightly higher than that for the None villages, 27%).

S [498] The workshops of the Dakar-Niger employ a considerable number of permanent or temporary workers from these two villages. These two localities in fact furnish 19 permanent city workers, 15 of whom are employed on the Dakar-Niger; among the four temporary workers from Keur-Issa-Bambara, three have worked in this enterprise. In addition, Diakhaté furnishes temporarily for the city: four tailors, one mason, and one carpenter.

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S 162 [191] [871] Let us add that a minority of natives, despite the contacts that they can have with Europeans, understand our language, a little less than 5%. The number of children who go to the European school is almost null, scarcely 1%.

S 369 After this quick study of some types of villages in the vicinity

369 /385 cont./
of Thiès, it clearly appears that the characteristics of the suburbs of the African cities noticeably differ from those of the cities of the mother country. Can one use the term suburb /banlieue/ for these types of suburban villages? Sapko, Thiès-none, Tiali, and Keur-Issa-Bambara, on the one hand, can be regarded as suburb villages; in fact they possess the essential characteristics: proximity to the city, relatively high percentage of workers traveling daily to the enterprises of Thiès, a considerable number of mixed workers, sale of truck-gardening products in the city, relatively high percentage of improved dwellings...

Keur-Mamour and Karamoko already appear to be outside of the economy of the city and cannot be regarded as suburb villages. Diakhaté would be a marginal type; despite its proximity to the first urban quarters, its economy seems to be little influenced by that of the city (only a fifth of the economically active population works in the city).

On the mother-country plan, a city such as Thiès would
[498] have an important industrial suburb. Let us not forget that the workshops of the Dakar-Niger engage nearly 2,500 native workers.

369 The agrarian economy plays an essential role in these
241 villages, but it has remained traditional. The introduction of new crops and the extension of the zones of gardening and orchards are very slight. The woman has perhaps extended by a few square meters the /386/ area of her vegetable garden for the cultivation of vegetables intended for sale at the market, but no serious systematic arrangement has been made. Traditional cultivation, with its archaic methods, prevails everywhere. If
369 the need for money stimulates the rural person to offer his services
464 in the city, he seems to choose the place of work nearest to his
166 home. Is it truly out of liking that the Wolof of Diakhaté hire themselves out to the workshops of the Dakar-Niger? Is it out of liking that the None near the mercantile quarters hire themselves out as laborers or boys? The proximity of the place of work seems to enter considerably into the choice of urban occupation.

The suburban village, as we have noted several times, has

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369 two important roles in the economy of the escale: it is a re-
464 serve of workers who can be employed temporarily; it is also
166 the position of withdrawal when enforced idleness and strikes interdict work in the city.

[463] A functional examination of the different human groups has in fact revealed that an important proportion of the male elements has a hybrid occupation: half-agricultural, half-laborer. These workers fluctuating between two activities seem like a shock troop of laborers who are employed on the occasion of great undertakings: embankments for the laying of the road from Dakar to Thiès, putting through and establishing new streets, the installation of the military camps, the extraction of phosphate in the Péchiney quarries... The yard closed, they temporarily return to the land.

These villages are also withdrawal points in case of prolonged work stoppages. If the worker is discharged from his establishment, if he suffers from enforced idleness in his occupation, is he totally deprived of money? He knows that he will [574] be able to wait for better times thanks to the hospitality that he will find in the neighboring agglomeration. Settled near the escale, it will be possible for him to look for work every day.

369 Reserve of manpower, reserve of food products intended principally for the native, these are the two points that justify the term suburb given to these few villages.

Their external appearance and their internal organization as we have described it scarcely correspond to our Western view of the suburban phenomenon. But we should place this problem in its African milieu where the conceptions of the city, animal breeding, agriculture... profoundly differ from ours.

How long will this type of suburb of the African cities preserve this rural appearance? Evolution in the modes /387/ of settlement, in interior comfort, in the extension of new crops..., already primed in some villages, will progressively continue in the neighboring agglomerations.

In spite of appearances, modifications occur rapidly

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369 (especially since the end of the last World War). It is probable that at such a rate in a few decades these suburban villages will have lost their rural appearance and will look like extensions of urban quarters. It seems difficult to foretell, however, to what extent and in what direction the Africa of tomorrow will be able to sustain its present efforts at evolution.